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Rāgamālā Paintings  
in the  
Museum of Fine Arts  
Boston



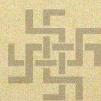
# Rāgamālā Paintings

in the

Museum of Fine Arts

Boston

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Indira Gandhi National  
Centre for the Arts

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by Pratapaditya Pal



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Exhibition held at the Museum: December 1, 1967-January 14, 1968  
Cover printed by Brüder Hartmann, West Berlin, Germany  
Text and illustrations printed by The Meriden Gravure Co.  
Designed by Carl F. Zahn

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Since the publication in 1925 of Ananda Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue of Rajput Paintings*, the collection of Rāgamālā paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts has been increased to ninety. The occasion of an exhibition of these works seemed an appropriate moment to publish these new acquisitions; at the same time it was decided to republish the catalogue information (without illustrations) on the original group, since the earlier volume has long been out of print.

Recent research in Rajput painting has made it necessary to change some of Coomaraswamy's attributions and dates; however, a great amount of the material contained in his catalogue remains invaluable and I have not hesitated in incorporating it. A word of caution about the dates assigned to the miniatures would not be out of place here. There is as yet little unanimity among scholars as to the dating of Indian miniatures. Thus, all dates suggested in this catalogue (except those based on dated documents) must be regarded as tentative.

Several of the new acquisitions bear lengthy inscriptions which have not been translated for the present publication. They will, however, be included in a more comprehensive catalogue of the Indian collections to be published at a later date.

Many have helped with the preparation of this catalogue and I remain indebted to them all. In particular I should like to thank Mrs. Angelica Rudenstine and Miss Lee Vandenberg without whose generous assistance neither the exhibition nor this catalogue would have been possible.

P.P.

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| Gangoly      | O. C. Gangoly, <i>Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs</i> , Bombay, 1948.  |
| Kanoomal     | Kanoomal, "Notes on Rāgiṇīs," <i>Rupam</i> , No. 11, 1922, p. 91f.   |
| Waldschmidt  | E. and R. L. Waldschmidt, <i>Musikinspierte Miniaturen</i> , Wiesbaden, 1966.  |
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| Barrett, D. and Gray, B.                        | <i>Painting of India</i> , New York, 1963.  |
| Coomaraswamy, A. K.                             | <i>The Dance of Śiva</i> , New York and London, 1924.                                     |
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| Randhawa, M. S.                                 | "Kangra Rāgamālā Painting," <i>Roopa-Lekha</i> , Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1-2, 1958, p. 4ff.       |
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Rāgamālā painting is, as its name implies, inspired by the Rāga system peculiar to Indian music. The paintings are, in effect, illustrations of poems which in turn describe or evoke the mood of the Rāga. Thus, three arts are ultimately involved in the production of these paintings — music, poetry, and painting itself.

The study of Rāgamālā painting is necessarily complex, since in order to do it justice a detailed knowledge of Indian musicology and literature as well as painting would be required. The field is further complicated by a lack of agreement among specialists in each of the three subjects about basic aspects of their area. Thus, just as there is no unanimity among musicologists about the exact musical structure or the classification of the Rāga and its derivatives, similarly poets differ considerably in their verbal imagery. The problems posed by the iconography of the paintings are therefore equally complex, and in general they have not been satisfactorily solved. At best one can offer some basic guidelines to help the viewer understand the principles behind the genre as a whole.

### I Rāga and Its Verbal Imagery

Indian music can be broadly classified into two systems: the North Indian or Hindusthani system and the South Indian or the Kārṇāṭaka system. We are concerned here with the North Indian system to which the paintings are related, there being no tradition of pictorial representation of musical themes in the south. The concept of Rāga, however, remains basic to both systems of music.

A general definition of Rāga by an eighteenth century musicologist is as follows: "Those are called rāgas by Bharata and other sages by which the hearts of all the beings in the three worlds are coloured and pleased."<sup>1</sup> Thus, the word is derived from the root *rañja* meaning "to color" or "to tinge." The word color is clearly used to characterize music which is pleasing to the ear. A secondary meaning of the word Rāga is "passion" and we shall see how the Rāga came to be associated with human feelings and emotions.

A Rāga (variously translated as "melody," "melody-type," "melody-mold," or "mode") is a progression of five, six, or seven notes distributed over the octave scale<sup>2</sup> in a particular arrangement, each Rāga having its fixed prominent note or sonant. From this basic arrangement of notes the musician creates his improvised composition which nonetheless remains within the carefully prescribed progressions of the Rāga involved. What further distinguishes the Rāga are the microtones or *śrutis*, which are twenty-two in number. These are the quarter tones or "the microtonal intervals between two successive scale notes."<sup>3</sup>

The music is not written down since it is not a harmonic form and was never orchestrated, but the main theme is handed down from the *guru* (teacher) to the *śiṣya* (pupil). For the rest the musician is left to himself and within the given theme he may venture forth in any direction and for any length of time, provided he can return to his theme. Thus, each performance by an artist is a creative experience that can never be exactly repeated.



There are various literary traditions both for the classification and for the verbal expression of the Rāgas. Although it is generally held that the classic system of Hindusthani music allows six Rāgas (the masculine parent mode) and thirty variants, known as Rāgiṇīs (the female mode derived from the Rāga), it becomes evident in perusing just the paintings in this small collection that the number far exceeds this specific classification. Musically, within each structure of a Rāga, a number of variations on the theme are possible by omitting certain notes or stressing others in different permutations. These subdivisions or variants are termed Rāgiṇī or Rāgaputra, the wife or the son of the particular Rāga from which they are derived and thus a picturesque and convenient system of classification was evolved. It is more than likely that the classification was far from arbitrary, and the actual musical structure of a Rāga or Rāgiṇī may have had something to do with its masculine or feminine characterization. As has been suggested by an eminent musician "the musical phrases in Rāgas have a generally ascending tendency, with the cadential notes resting on the stronger pulses, thus suggesting a masculine trait while in Rāgiṇīs the phrases tend downwards with cadential notes resting on the weaker pulses, thus reflecting the feminine."<sup>4</sup>

Each Rāga or Rāgiṇī is defined not only in strictly technical musical terms, but equally importantly in spiritual and emotional terms. Thus, each expresses or evokes a particular mood—devotion, tranquility, loneliness, heroism, eroticism, etc.—as well as a specific season and a time of day or night. It has, as Coomaraswamy has suggested, its own characteristic ethos. It would be a worthwhile pursuit to enquire from a psychological point of view why a particular Rāga or Rāgiṇī was assigned to a particular time of the day or night, although it must be remembered that musicologists are not unanimous in their attributions. What, for instance, would be the exact relationship between the tonal structure of the Rāga Bhairava, the time of dawn, and the particular emotional mood of a human being at dawn?

The basic principles of the Rāga system are clear, but the iconography of the paintings themselves, read in conjunction with their inscriptions or poems, is often obscure and the connections difficult to establish. A single example will serve to demonstrate some of the problems involved.

It is almost unanimously agreed that the Rāga or Rāgiṇī Vasanta, as its name implies, is associated with spring and was perhaps a melody sung at a spring festival. Since Holi (or the festival of colors) is the major spring festival in India, the Rāga Vasanta naturally comes to be associated with Holi. Moreover, Holi is a predominantly Vaiṣṇava festival and so the Rāga is also dedicated to the Vaiṣṇava god Kṛṣṇa. This much is clear, but none of the more basic musical facts are. Some musicologists hold that Vasanta is a Rāga, others declare that it is a Rāgiṇī derived from the Rāga Hīṇḍola. Some claim that it is a Rāga or Rāgiṇī of the morning, others suggest that it should be sung at night. According to one tradition it is pentatonic (composed of five notes), according to another heptatonic (seven notes). Some say it should be sung with *pañcama* (fifth note of the scale) as the dominant, others claim that this note should be omitted. In the Hindusthani system there are as many as seven different forms of Vasanta and in the Kārṇāṭaka system many more. These musicological complexities are, of course, reflected in the different poems and paintings which the Rāga or Rāgiṇī Vasanta inspires.

Discrepancies in the iconography of the various pictorial representations of a single Rāga are thus to be expected. Within the present collection many such discrepancies can be found (see for example Nos. 4-7, Nos. 72-76, Nos. 77 & 78). It may also be pointed out that the paintings in the collection fall stylistically into two broad categories, Rajput and Pahari, and it seems that two totally different iconographic traditions were followed by the artists in the two areas. For instance, the Rāgiṇī Ṭoḍī is



represented in Rajasthan by a solitary female wandering through the forest playing upon her *viṇā* and attracting the deer (see No. 73). Almost the same iconography is generally employed by the artists in the Panjab hills to portray the Gujarī Rāgiṇī (see No. 31). Thus, even in the north, just as there were different classifications of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs among the musicians, so the poets also differed in the verbal imagery they used, hence also the varied iconography of the paintings.<sup>5</sup>

The names of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs are in some cases illuminating of the content or context but in others they seem totally obscure. Thus, Rāgas such as Megha or Vasanta reveal associations with the monsoons and the spring and certainly capture something of their moods. Other Rāgiṇīs such as Utpalī (lotus), Kumuda (lily), Mālatī (jasmine), Māyūrī (peacock), Haṁsadhvani (the voice of the swan), Nāgadhvani (the voice of the snake), or Kuraṅga-kuraṅgī (antelope) were clearly inspired by natural sources. Many of the titles are geographical: Gauḍa (or Gauḍī, Gaurī) and Vaṅgāla (both referring to Bengal), Mālava (referring to Malwa in Central India), Saindhavī (referring to Sindh) are well-known examples and imply that the Rāgas or Rāgiṇīs involved originated in or were especially popular in those regions.<sup>6</sup> Still other names are derived from tribes, some of which were indigenous to India, some of which were foreign. Ahīrī (see No. 1) and Sāverī (see No. 68) are names of Indian tribes, while Śāka, Gurjarī (see No. 30), or Turuṣka Ṭoḍī are foreign names, and probably the melodies current among these people were modified and adopted to the Indian system.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Rāgiṇīs such as Naṭa or Kāṇaḍā are difficult to correlate with the content of the poems or paintings representing them and are obscure in their origin.

This, then, indicates some of the sources for the names of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs represented pictorially in the miniatures in the collection. Even such a brief survey, however, gives some idea of the tenuousness of the connection between the title of any individual Rāga and its content and thus of the complexities involved in attempting to correlate the two.<sup>8</sup>

In conclusion it may be helpful to say a word about some of the specific themes used in the paintings. The poet defining the essence of the Rāga or Rāgiṇī would naturally ascribe to it qualities taken from the whole range of human experience. The *rasa* or flavor of the Rāga—that aspect of it which embodies the mood expressed, whether this be loneliness, joy, love fulfilled, love unfulfilled, etc.—would be personified in the form of the human situation. It was natural, therefore, that the poet and the painter would draw their subject matter from the repertoire of stories and images already current in the mind of the viewer (or listener). Thus, in the portrayal of the *rasa Śṛṅgāra* (love)—the most important of the nine *rasas*<sup>9</sup>—the hero (*nāyaka*) and heroine (*nāyikā*) depicted would often be taken from the *Nāyakabheda* themes which were popular with the Indian rhetoricians and poets (see for example No. 64). Similarly the love story of the Vaiṣṇava god Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā—the ideal lovers—was a fertile source for the imagery of Rāgamālā painting. Thus, the Hiṇḍola Rāga (No. 35) depicting a “mood of passion” shows Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā rocking to and fro on a jeweled swing.

Vaiṣṇava legends, Paurāṇic mythology, and other forms of literature provided endless subject matter for the illustration of Rāgamālā themes, and in thus depicting human emotions in a divine context expression was given to the Indian belief that there is no real distinction between the two worlds: divinity resides within every human being.

## II Styles of the Miniatures

No Rāgamālā paintings earlier than the sixteenth century have been discovered to date. Yet the miniatures of the sixteenth century already reveal a mature style and a more



or less fixed iconography. As Coomaraswamy had suggested, therefore, although there are no surviving earlier examples, the tradition of painting Rāgamālā miniatures must go back further than present evidence indicates.

Certainly by the fifteenth century the descriptive verses about the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs had been composed.<sup>10</sup> The potentialities for their pictorial representation must immediately have been apparent to the artists as well as to their patrons, for this would have been an even more graphic way of popularizing music. Furthermore, no new material was required for the familiar stereotypes could well be modified to meet the new demand. As we have already seen, the motifs and types from paintings depicting Nāyaka themes or the Kṛṣṇa legends were transferred to the Rāgamālā paintings where they acquired a new significance.

A Rāgamālā painting representing the Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī (see cover) shows remarkable iconographic similarity with an illumination from a twelfth century *Gaṇḍavyūha* manuscript, consisting of a swaying man, a prancing deer, and a plantain tree.<sup>11</sup> A Guler painting of the Utkā Nāyikā<sup>12</sup> may well have been mistaken for a representation of a Kakubha Rāgiṇī (No. 37), while an illustration to a Rasikapriyā<sup>13</sup> is almost identical to a miniature showing the Rāgiṇī Deśakār (No. 11). Just as the themes represented remained the same as those of earlier periods, so the style is closely derived from earlier works. Miniatures of the Malwa set of Rāgamālā of about A.D. 1640 (No. 12) reveal striking stylistic similarities with the Caurpañcāsikā paintings of about A.D. 1550 of the same school.<sup>14</sup> We are left in no doubt that confronted with the task of illustrating a Rāga, the artist, apart from the verbal descriptions, must also have employed visual models already in his repertoire.

The miniatures in the collection offer a varied assortment of styles from Central India, Rajasthan, and the Panjab Hills. Among the Central Indian and Rajasthani Schools the most strongly represented are the Malwa, Mewar, Bundi, and perhaps Jaipur. Paintings from the Panjab Hills include some outstanding examples in the early Basohli style, while two miniatures, probably from Bilaspur, assume new significance for scholars interested in Pahari paintings.

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## MALWA

The Malwa set, referred to in Coomaraswamy's catalogue<sup>15</sup> as S.2, was dated by him ca. A.D. 1600. But in view of recent research a date nearer the mid-seventeenth century seems more realistic. Characteristic of the Malwa style of the period, these miniatures display almost an ascetic simplicity in their compositions, a uniform ground rendered usually in blue-black, and very typical architectural settings generally occupying one side of the composition. The trees, when included, repeat the formal verticality of the architecture, whereas the sky becomes animated with white highlights and—when required by the theme—grays to indicate an approaching storm. In the majority of these miniatures only two figures appear and our attention is immediately focused on them. Despite their compositional simplicity, or perhaps because of it, the paintings make a direct visual impact with their firm draughtsmanship and the limited range but rich tonality of their colors. Two later paintings attributed to Malwa (Nos. 6 & 55) are more decorative and gay with their richer vegetation, a more varied palette, and the ornate floral design across the lower section. By the eighteenth century (see Nos. 35, 36, 44, 81) the style seems to have exhausted itself and merely continued the established formulae in a stereotyped manner.



## MEWAR

Of the Mewar School, the miniature depicting Rāga Bhairava (No. 4) was executed in A.D. 1628 by Sahibdin.<sup>16</sup> A court painter of Jagat Singh of Udaipur, Sahibdin was probably familiar with both the Mughal and the Rajasthani traditions. In fact, Sahibdin's work can be regarded as bridging the styles of the Chawand Rāgamālā set<sup>17</sup> of A.D. 1605 and of the "Gem Palace" Rāgamālā set<sup>18</sup> of about A.D. 1650. His drawing is bold and lyrical and the style vigorous and powerful.

Eight other Mewar paintings belong to a set and were probably painted around A.D. 1680. Not only are these of a much larger format than either the Malwa or the Sahibdin sets, but they are characterized by a richer iconography as well as more elaborate compositions. There is greater exuberance in the more dense vegetation and more animation in the musicians playing in the foregrounds, but the colors, less brilliant in tone, have been employed with less sensitivity and refinement.

## BUNDI

Thirteen miniatures from a set painted in Bundi about A.D. 1725 have recently been added to the collection. Stylistically they are closely related to a set of Bundi paintings dated in 1682,<sup>19</sup> and probably they are the products of the same atelier. Characteristic of the Bundi School, these paintings are distinguished by their brilliant and glowing colors: orange, yellow, purple, pink, violet, green, blue, and gold. At the same time, the artist's consummate mastery of the brush is evident in his subtle gradation of the softer hues, the dove-gray, the various shades of green, the purple, and the muted browns, in what must be one of the most charming and sensitive delineations of the Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī (see cover). In other examples, such as in the miniature depicting Rāgiṇī Lalitā (No. 47), the artist in his treatment of the sky with its red gently merging into orange, yellow, pink, and blue-gray and of the birds fluttering out of trees, has vividly and almost naturalistically captured the many colorful sunrises that he must have witnessed in Bundi. His articulate rendering of details, with the precision and refinement of a jeweler, reveals the painter of this Bundi set as an unusually accomplished miniaturist.

Of the remaining paintings of the Central Indian and Rajasthani Schools, two probably painted at Nagaur around 1680 (Nos. 40 & 88) are rendered in a forceful and vivacious style, while two beautiful miniatures from Kotah (Nos. 23 & 32) reveal close stylistic affinities with the Bundi idiom. A number of others have been tentatively assigned to Jaipur, but they are far less distinguished than the others both in the delineation of the forms and in the application of the colors.

## PANJAB HILLS

Of the paintings from the Panjab Hills, by far the most attractive are those assigned to Basohli. Like the painters of the early Malwa and Mewar miniatures, the early Basohli artists had a predilection for simple compositions and an economic use both of line and color. Usually against a monochrome background of passionate intensity (such as the glowing yellow in the miniature of the Gujarī Rāgiṇī: No. 30), the artist places only one or two figures in a sparse landscape with telling expressiveness. In such paintings one is tempted to see the color of the background as a manifestation of the particular passion or mood evoked by the Rāgiṇī. In the case of this Gujarī Rāgiṇī the yellow may express the intensity of her feelings in the state of *vipralabdha śṛṅgāra*, or unrequited love, while the solitary tree helps to emphasize her loneliness.

The collection does not have many paintings of the later Pahari Schools, but two other miniatures may prove to be of considerable significance for the study of the tra-



dition. Both bear seals on the back which reveal the date H.1155 corresponding to A.D. 1742. Coomaraswamy<sup>20</sup> ascribed both to the Delhi or Lucknow region, but there can be no doubt that they belong to the Pahari tradition, although whether they are of the Bilaspur School is difficult to tell. The turban worn by the lady in the painting portraying Gauḍī Rāgiṇī (No. 28) is quite similar to that seen in a painting definitely ascribed to Bilaspur.<sup>21</sup> The tree trunk is not twisted in the typically Bilaspur manner, and the landscapes, especially with the river and the boat, are somewhat unique, although the gently sloping hills, the abrupt separation of colors as well as their muted tones are characteristics seen in Bilaspur paintings. The sky in the Ṭoḍī painting (No. 74) is painted in a light blue fading into a darker shade, but that in the Gauḍī (No. 28) is an expanse of muted gold separated from a deep blue. A feeling for depth is revealed in the fortresses and buildings in the distance, and the figures seem to faintly echo Mughal types.

A vigorous school of painting is said to have flourished in Bilaspur during the reign of Devi Chand,<sup>22</sup> when artists from the plains came up to this hill state in search of patronage. Since these paintings were executed in 1742, they may well predate what is considered to be typically Bilaspur style. The artist may have been a Muslim from the plains, which may explain the riverscape in the Ṭoḍī painting (No. 74) and the lingering Mughal influences in the figural types.

## NOTES

1. Gangoly, p. 3.

2. Like Western music, Indian music is heptatonic, based on the succession of seven notes: *ṣaḍja* (sā, C), *ṛṣabha* (ri, D), *gāndhāra* (gā, E), *madhyama* (mā, F), *pañcama* (pā, G), *dhaivata* (dhā, A), and *niṣāda* (ni, B). Apart from these seven basic or placed (*śuddha*) notes, there are also five displaced (flat or chromatic) notes (*komala*) accepted by the Hindusthani musicians today.

3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva*, New York & London, 1924, p. 74.

As Mr. Stooke has suggested (H. J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Laud Rāgamālā Miniatures*, Oxford, 1953, p. 12), the closest parallels to the Rāga in Western music, in principle and without carrying the analogies too far, are the figured or the ground bass (e.g., the music of the English composer Henry Purcell) or jazz, in both cases a phrase or a theme being taken up and developed or improvised.

4. Stooke and Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

5. It seems difficult, therefore, to accept Coomaraswamy's observation that "the burden of the music, the flavor of the poem, and the theme of the picture are identical." (Coomaraswamy, p. 42.)

6. It may be of interest to point out that both Gauḍa and Mālava have lent their names to two distinct types of Kāvya literature, and, no doubt, already by the Gupta period, they were two of the most culturally active areas.

7. After the advent of the Muslims in India, and especially due to the poet-musician Amir Khusrau in the thirteenth century, Indian music

was considerably enriched by the inclusion of Persian modes.

8. There are various literary traditions for the subject matter of these paintings. I have chosen as my principal sources the *Saṅgītāmālā* and the *Saṅgīta-sāra*, both texts having been compiled about the time when the majority of the paintings in the collection were produced. For more detailed information on the literary traditions, see Gangoly, p. 105f.

9. Coomaraswamy, p. 64f.

10. Gangoly, p. 105f.

11. *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection*, Boston, 1966, p. 105, Fig. 110.

12. M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings on Love*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 158, Pl. VI.

13. D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, New York, 1963, p. 109.

14. W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Greenwich, Conn., 1960, Pl. 32.

15. Coomaraswamy, pp. 71-72.

16. K. Khandalavala, M. Chandra, P. Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 30-34.

17. G. K. Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani Rāga Mālā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, 1952-53, p. 1f and Plates.

18. M. Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, New Delhi, 1957, Pl. V.

19. Barrett and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

20. Coomaraswamy, p. 100.

21. Barrett and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

22. K. Khandalavala, *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, Bombay, 1958, pp. 110-112.



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1

AHĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Woman offering milk to snakes emerging from earthenware pots. Attendant with fly-whisk. Part of a building against a bright yellow background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8 x 8⅞ inches (20.5 x 20.6 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3219

Inscription:

"Rāgiṇī Ahīrī, wife of Hiṇḍola."

Coomaraswamy p. 99; Pl. XXXIV.

A legend current in the hills tells that Bāsu Nāg (a snake divinity), once abducted a certain woman, but set her free and told her that she would give birth to eighteen nāgas whom she must feed daily. Subsequently the nāgas were born and she kept them in an earthenware pot and fed them daily. One day her daughter became curious and decided to feed the snakes herself. But when the snakes emerged from the pot she was terrified, and they escaped. As Coomaraswamy suggested, the iconography of this Rāgiṇī is obviously associated with the cult of the Nāgas. The titles of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs are often obscure and it is difficult to correlate them with the context or content of the paintings involved. It is possible in this case, however, that the word Ahīrī refers to the Ahīrs or Abhīras—a cowherd people who lived, and still do, in the hills. In that case a tribal origin for this Rāgiṇī might be assumed.

From the same set as Nos. 9, 30.

2

ĀSĀVARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A woman seated on lotus petals and charming snakes by playing on a wind instrument (nāgasara) in a wooded grove at the foot of a hill surmounted by a shrine.

Rajasthan, Mewar, late seventeenth century.

11½ x 9¾ inches (29.2 x 20.4 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2913

Inscription:

"Āsāvārī is longing for her husband, and climbs the Malaya mountains,  
All the snakes desert their sandal trees, and writhe and coil their bodies."

Coomaraswamy p. 94; Pl. XXIX.

The nāgasara (also called a vīn as different from a vīṇā) is an instrument traditionally used by snake-charmers. The iconography of the painting, as well as the inscription, would therefore support a theory that this Rāgiṇī had its origin among the snake-charmers.



॥ सुषोपविष्टसुरतार्थमाशो॥ विसुदंरंगेपरिरजितांगाविलासनीमोदितचित्रवृत्तं म  
 धीपूजो यंकिलनस्वदपां॥ ॥





## ĀSĀVARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Girl seated with cobra: sketch.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

5¼ x 4 inches (13.5 x 10.3 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3061

Coomaraswamy p. 95.

## 4 [Plate I]

## BHAIRAVA RĀGA

A male of a blue complexion seated in a palace, his left arm being massaged by a kneeling female while another holds the fly-whisk. A third female is seen filling the water jars from a pool in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Mewar, A.D. 1628. Artist: Sāhibdin.

9¾ x 6¾ inches (24.9 x 17.3 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 66.139

For others of the same series and date see K. Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 30-34. Compare also with the Chawand (Mewar) set of A.D. 1605 (Gopi Krishna Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rājasthānī Rāga Mālā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, 1952-53, pp. 2 f.). A comparison of the available folios of the two sets leave little doubt that Sāhibdin modeled many of his paintings upon those of the Chawand set. Bhairava is a morning Rāga and essentially spiritual or devotional in its feeling, although in three of the present paintings (Nos. 4-6) the predominant note seems to be human rather than divine love. Bhairava is an alternate name of the god Śiva in his terrifying form, and the Rāga is usually devoted to this god, as is the case in No. 7. In this, however, as in the other Bhairava paintings in the Museum collection, Bhairava is represented as a *nāyaka* (hero) rather than as Śiva. Bhairava is an autumn Rāga and is said to chase away fever (Kanoomal, p. 92). The prescribed time for it is dawn, and the artist has cleverly added the motif of a girl filling her pitchers to indicate this moment in the day.

## 5

## BHAIRAVA RĀGA

A prince and a princess, each holding a lotus of dalliance (*lilā-kamala*), seated on a couch in a palace attended by maids and musicians.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7⅞ x 5¾ inches (19.8 x 14.4 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2371

Inscription:

"Disporting and dallying mid palaces and pleasures, abandoning shame and waxing mellow

Bhairava moves in a whirlwind, insensate, the Lord of Rati (Kāmadeva) roams at large."

Coomaraswamy pp. 70-72; Pl. II.

From the same set as Nos. 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.







6 [Plate II]

BHAIRAVA RĀGA

A fair man and a woman embracing in the woods, attended by four females. Inscribed.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1670.

8 x 5¾ inches (20.4 x 14.5 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 66.140*

Although the inscription is not clear, the last two words can be recognized as *Bhairava Rāga*. Unlike the other Bhairava miniatures in the Museum collection, this one is set in the woods, an unusual context for this Rāga.

From the same set as No. 55.

7

BHAIRAVA RĀGA

Bhairava (Śiva) seated on a bed attended by three girls, one of whom is massaging his arm. Inscribed.

Deccan (?), eighteenth century.

8¼ x 5¼ inches (21.0 x 13.3 cm.)

*Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. 17.71*

Coomaraswamy pp. 95-96; Pl. XXXI

Bhairava here is appropriately portrayed as Śiva, complete with the *jaṭā* (chignon), and the halo emphasizes his divinity.

From the same set as No. 82; both show pronounced Mughal influence.

8 [Plate III]

BHAIRAVA RĀGA

A prince and princess seated within a palace and attended by maids. Four female musicians playing in the foreground. Inscribed.

Central India, eighteenth century.

10 x 6⅞ inches (25.3 x 17.5 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.811*

9

BHRAMARĀNANDA RĀGA[PUTRA]

An ascetic dancing violently to the rhythm of a tambourine played by a woman. Olive green background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8¾ x 8 inches (21.1 x 20.5 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2788*

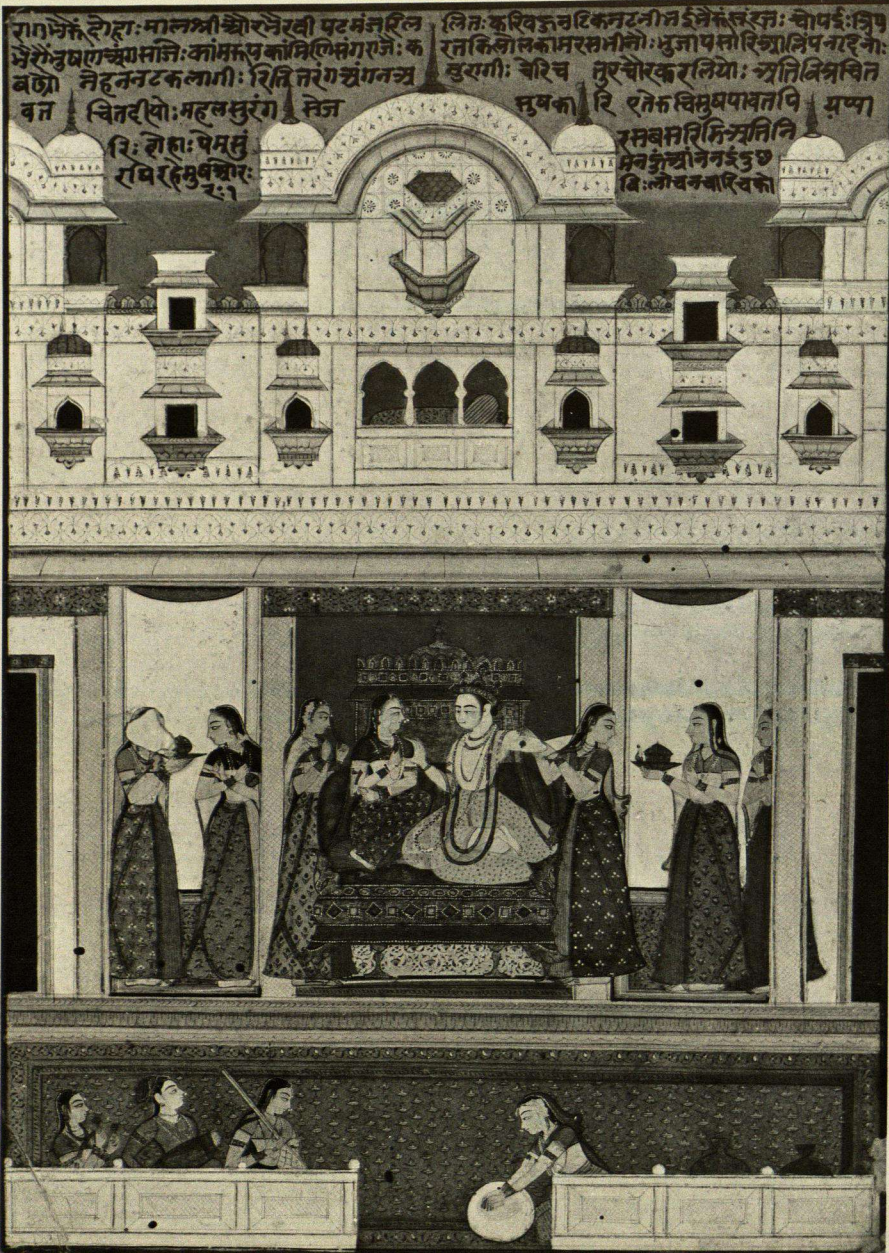
Inscription:

"Bhamarānanda Rāga, son of Mālkaśa."

Coomaraswamy p. 98; Pl. XXXIII.

From the same set as Nos. 1, 30.







10 [Plate IV]

DEŚAKĀR RĀGIṆĪ

A prince looking into a mirror held by a maid and tying his turban. Three other attendants. A dancer with castanets and two female musicians in the foreground. Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

14<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (37.1 x 24.9 cm.)

Inscription:

"Deśākār, Rāgiṇī of Bharu [Bhairava]."

From the same set as Nos. 18, 29, 39, 43, 57, 78, 85.

11 [Plate V]

DEŚAKĀR RĀGIṆĪ

A woman seated on a terrace feeding a crane.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (18.2 x 12.3 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 67.796

Inscription:

"Deśākār, Rāgiṇī of Hīṇḍola: to be sung in the first quarter of the day."

The iconography of this is noticeably different from that of No. 10.

From the same set as Nos. 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

12 [Plate VI]

DEŚAKHYĀ RĀGIṆĪ

An acrobat dancing with a fan and a woman turning on a cross-bar. Day scene with rain.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (19.4 x 14.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2379

Inscription:

"An accomplished and clever young woman, fragrant of body, in all its parts, Fixing her heart upon her lord, such a lady is Deśākḥ."

Coomaraswamy pp. 75-76; Pl. VI.

Known variously as Deśākḥ or Deśākḥi, the iconography of this Rāgiṇī is difficult to explain. According to the *Saṅgitamālā* Deśākḥi is a beautiful woman but martially inclined and displaying an angry expression (Kanoomal, p. 95). The term Deśākhyā is derived from Deśi, originally used to characterize a whole class of local, regional, or folk music. In the course of time the term may have been given to a more particular mode. It is of interest to note that during the solstice festivals the acrobatics represented in this painting were often (and still are) performed in the villages. From the same set as Nos. 5, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.







हीडोलकी राग गीरेस का रदेन के आगे पर गाव









DEŚAVARĀRI RĀGIṆĪ

Prince and Princess sporting in a pavilion. Night scene with the moon in the sky.  
Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7¼ x 4¾ inches (18.2 x 12.3 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 67.795

Inscription:

"Deśavarāḍi, Rāgiṇī of Mālakaśaka: to be sung during the third quarter of the night."  
From the same set as Nos. 11, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

14

DEVAGĀNDHĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Two women, one with a fly-whisk, flanking a Śiva *liṅga* (phallus) and offering *pujā* (homage). Implements of worship on the ground. Mustard yellow background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1670.

8¼ x 8⅞ inches (20.9 x 20.6 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2789

Inscription:

"Devagāndhārī Rāgiṇī, wife of Mālakaśa."  
Coomaraswamy pp. 96-97; Pl. XXXII.

The name is composed of two words: *Deva* meaning divine and *Gāndhārī*, perhaps derived from *Gāndhāra*, the third note in the scale, which is the predominant note in this *Rāgiṇī*. Just as in the case of *Pañcama* (No. 60) and others such as *Madhyamādi* and *Ṣaḍjī*, this seems to retain the memory of an earlier system of classification when the *Rāgas* were named after their dominant notes.

From the same set as Nos. 24, 63.

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15

DEVAGĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Two women, one with a garland and the other with a fly-whisk and a basket of flowers, approaching a Śiva *liṅga* within a shrine of reeds. Chocolate brown background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8¼ x 8⅞ inches (20.9 x 20.7 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3116

Inscription:

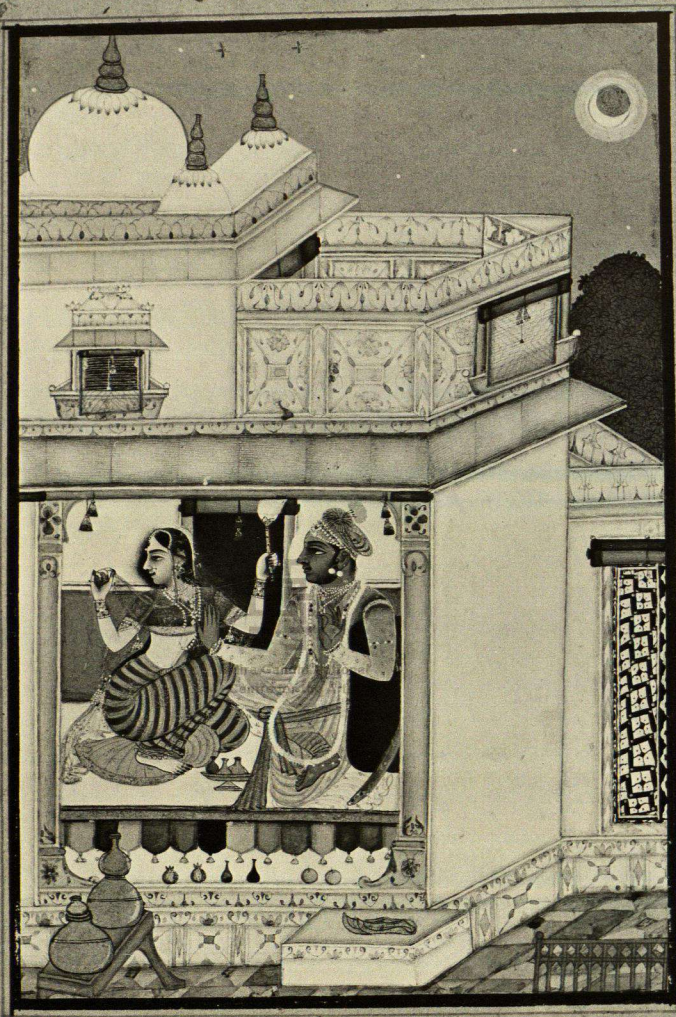
"Devagīrī Rāgiṇī, wife of Hīṇḍola . . ."  
Coomaraswamy p. 98; Pl. XXXIII.

There seems to be little difference between the iconography of this and *Devagāndhārī Rāgiṇī* (No. 14). No. 16, however, also representing *Devagīrī*, has a slightly different iconography, although the basic theme in both is devotion. Both *Devagāndhārī* and *Devagīrī* therefore can be considered to be devotional *Rāgiṇīs* with Śaiva overtones.





प्रालोकोत्सवकीरागनीहसबैराजरातकेपेहलाप्रगवे









## DEVAGĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady worshipping a *śālagrāma* (the aniconic symbol of the god Viṣṇu) placed on a dish supported by a standing brazen Garuḍa (the mount of Viṣṇu). Attendant fanning with cloth; architectural background. Inscribed.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, early eighteenth century.

8 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 6 inches (20.8 x 15.4 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3218

Coomaraswamy pp. 98-99; Pl. XXXIV

Coomaraswamy described the *śālagrāma*, which is not very distinct in the painting, as camphor. The same iconography for this Rāgiṇī is to be found in another Pahari painting (Waldschmidt, Abb. 53). It is obvious that Devagīrī was primarily a devotional mode and could be used both by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. Both traditions were known to the Pahari artists.

## 17

## DHANĀŚRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady of blue complexion seated and drawing the likeness of a man according to the description of the fair lady standing. Night scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (19.5 x 14.6 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2380

Inscription:

"All the tale she tells her *sakhi* [confidante], Dhanāśrī is full of woe.

The beauty of her body is wasted all away, she displays the condition of 'love in separation'."

Coomaraswamy p. 76; Pl. VII.

Although in this painting, as Coomaraswamy suggested, the heroine is describing her lover as the seated confidante draws the portrait, in the others (Nos. 18-20) the heroine herself appears to be painting the likeness. According to the *Saṅgītamālā* this is a Rāgiṇī of *Hemanta* (early winter) and is to be sung at midday (Kanoomal, p. 97).

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

## 18 [Plate VIII]

## DHANĀŚRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Heroine within a pavilion, perhaps putting the finishing touches to a portrait of her lover painted by the confronting confidante. Two other female attendants, one busy fanning. A dog outside and in the foreground a couple of musicians.

Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

15 x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (38.2 x 24.4 cm.)

Bequest of Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes, Edward Jackson Holmes Collection. 65.49

Inscription:

Dhanāśrī, Rāgiṇī of *Dīpaka*."

From the same set as Nos. 10, 29, 39, 43, 57, 78, 85.



॥ राग नीधनासरी। चौ० ॥ धनिधनिधनिधनासरीगलीः विधिनांनुधिकैरचीसयाणीः जो-  
 पियपकजरियासनंदवेः विरहनिहीइ चित्रहीरेयेः सषीसंग नहिकेलिखहाइ  
 रहैध्यानैनेननिगलाइः स्यामचिकुरिनषतावलिवैनीः इदुवदनधृगसावकनैनीः  
 एकैरुसुखननहीसोनाः कादिनिचतुरकांमकीगोभाः दो। धनिविधुनां धनिबुधि  
 वलरचीहेतहितलाइः मानकुभूरतिजोतिकीनैननिरहीसमाइ॥ ॥५॥ ।इति॥





## DHANĀŚRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady seated within a pavilion and painting the portrait of her lover. A maid holding a bowl of water, another playing the *vīṇā*, and a third standing with a fly-whisk. Below the lover approaching on horseback, led by a groom. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

9½ x 7 inches (24.1 x 17.9 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 60.175

Although the iconography is similar to that of No. 18, here the artist has added the figure of the approaching lover. Dhanāśrī, impatient with the delay of his arrival, begins painting his portrait.

## 20

## DHANASRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Tracing on skin.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

6 x 4¼ inches (15.3 x 10.5 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3067

Coomaraswamy p. 95.

## 21

## DĪPAKA RĀGA

A red male, with three flaming heads and four arms, holding an elephant goad and a lotus and riding on a white elephant; the latter, also with flaming head, carries a lamp (*dīpaka*) at the tip of his trunk. Blue-gray background. Inscribed.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, early eighteenth century.

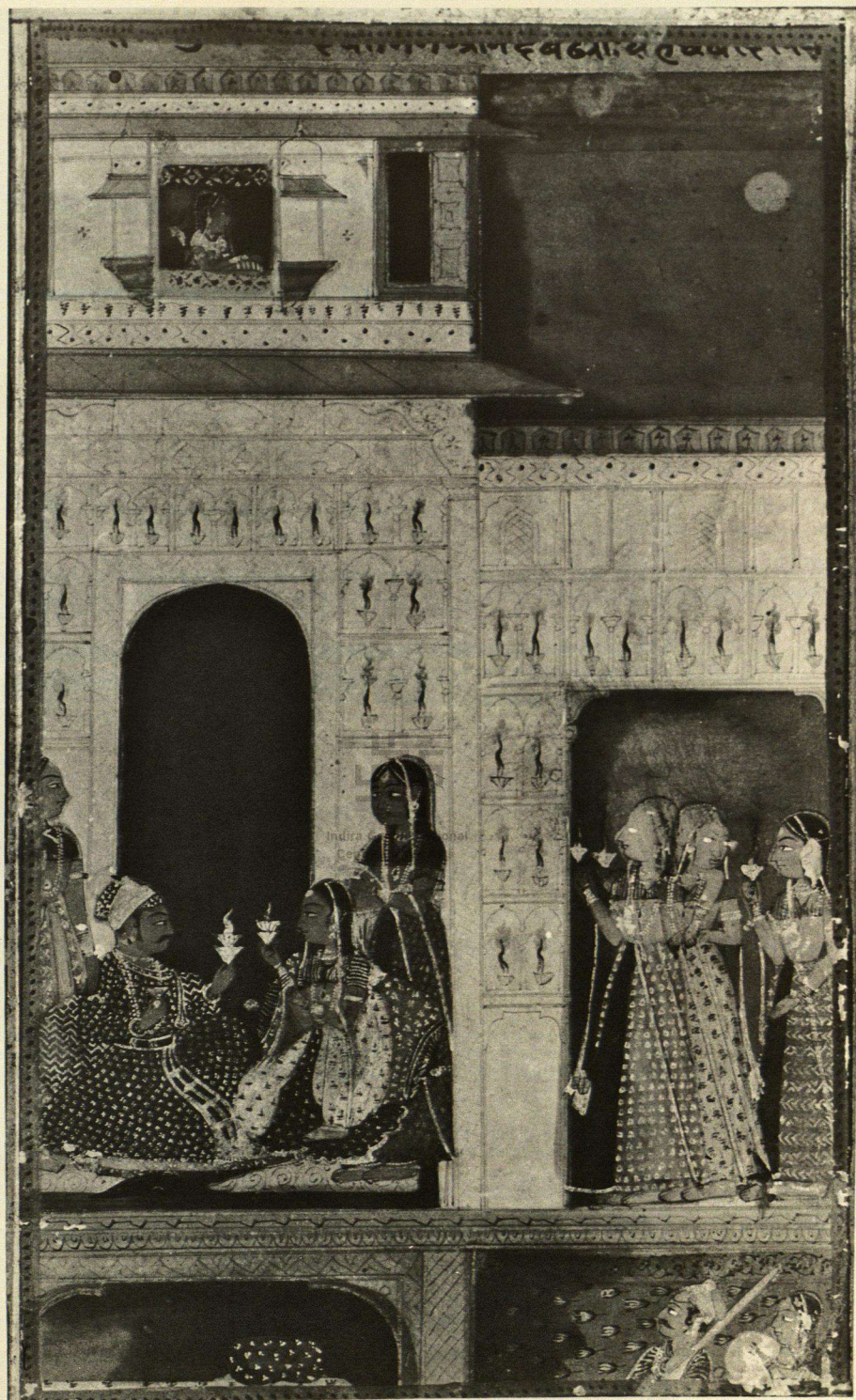
6 x 6¼ inches (15.4 x 16.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2787

Coomaraswamy p. 96; Pl. XXXII.

The exact identification of this painting presents some problems, although it has two inscriptions in Ṭakri. One reads simply *Dīpaka Rāga*. Another on the reverse, however, reads *deṣa patara dipakedā*, leading perhaps to an identification of the painting as Deśa Rāga[putra]. Coomaraswamy read the first word as *dosra* meaning second, but it seems to me clearly to read *deṣa* (which may be emended to *deśa*). Iconographically this painting differs considerably from the Rajasthani painting depicting *Dīpaka Rāga* (see No. 22); it is in some respects similar, however, to a Kangra painting of this *Rāga* (cf. M. S. Randhawa, "Kangra Ragamala Painting," *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 18), where a male rides an elephant whose trunk carries a lamp. In that case, however, the rider is a human being and not a multi-headed god. The *Śaṅgītamālā* describes *Rāga Dīpaka* as follows: "Born from the eyes of the sun; by the effulgence of his complexion scolding the flower of the pomegranate; ravishingly graceful as he rides on a rutted elephant; accompanied by female attendants, carrying round his neck an incomparable necklace of pearls. The melody is centered on the note *ṣaḍja*, it is sung at noon-tide in summer season." (Gangoly, p. 117). In spite of the second inscription and of the god-like appearance of the red male in our miniature, it would seem likely that the present identification is the correct one. From the same set as No. 31.











DĪPAKA RĀGA

Prince and lady seated with attendants on a palace terrace. The majority of the figures carry lamps which also adorn all the wall niches. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Bikaner (?), eighteenth century.

7 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (19.8 x 11.8 cm.)

*Indian Special Fund. 28.9*

The inscription along the top has been painted over, but the last few words (*dekhatā mana ānaṁdā baṛhāo, yaha chabī Dipaka Rāga*) mean "at the sight of this pair, heart's joy waxes, this beautiful sight is Dīpaka Rāga."

In both this and the following painting (No. 23) the iconography is quite different from the text, particularly in the absence of the elephant, which is, however, seen in No. 21 and in Pahari paintings of this Rāga in general. The most distinguishing feature of the iconography of this Rāga is the lamp (*dīpaka*) from which the name is derived.

23 [Plate XI]

DĪPAKA RĀGA

Prince and Princess seated on a couch within a palace. A flame emerging from the prince's turban. Lamps on lampstands. The crescent moon and the stars indicate a night scene.

Rajasthan, Kotah, ca. A.D. 1740.

11 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (30.2 x 22.6 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 66.137*

Inscription at the top reads *Dīpaka Rāga*.

The prince in this as well as in the above painting (No. 22) wears an elaborate pearl necklace. It is noteworthy that although the literary traditions unanimously emphasize that this Rāga is to be sung at midday, the artists of both paintings have visualized the scene at night, perhaps misled by the lamps. It is difficult to understand why a Rāga associated with the "lamp" should be sung at noon. Dīpaka is generally considered to be a very powerful Rāga as is illustrated by the apocryphal story that Tansen, the master musician of Akbar's court, once sang it with such perfection on the bank of the Yamuna that the waters of the river began to boil. A female singer, however, appeared and sang the Meghamallāra (or Monsoon) Rāga which brought down the rains, and catastrophe was thus avoided.

From the same set as No. 32.

24

GAMBHĪRA RĀGA[PUTRA]

Man and woman in a boat, the former shooting an arrow at a running deer.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (20.9 x 20.9 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2790*

Inscription:

"Gambhīra Rāga, son of Śrī Rāga."

Coomaraswamy p. 97; Pl. XXXII.



This Rāga (strictly Rāgaputra) does not seem to have been portrayed in Rajasthani paintings. There are several examples, however, from the Panjab Hills, where it was obviously popular (cf. Waldschmidt, Abb. 6).

"Holding a lotus (?) and a bow (*gouḍa*?), he has a string of pearls round his neck, Gambhīra-rāga, of fair complexion is engaged in sports, and singing, riding on a crocodile (?boat)."

(Gangoly as quoted by Waldschmidt p. 123.)

From the same set as Nos. 14, 63.

## 25

### GĀNDHĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A Śaiva ascetic seated on a tiger skin attended by a female ascetic and two disciples with peacock feather fly-whisks. Wooded landscape with lotus pond. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1650.

8¾ x 6⅝ inches (22.2 x 16.9 cm.)

Ross Collection. 22.684

Inscription:

"Thus the relation of the form of Gandhāra:

The form of Gandhāra is of one devoted to *tāpas* (austerity), distraught by the waves of the ocean of the pain of love,

Lovely her head with its mass of tangled locks, and brightly shines the sandal paste smeared on her body.

With wasted frame in russet garb, dwelling in the forest by a lotus lake,

Supported by a *yoga paṭṭa*, firmly lotus-seated, fair and pure, seated on a tiger skin,

Gazing fixedly she seals her eyes upon the utter darling of her heart.

An adept of love's rule, redoubled beauty going with her;

Beside her Svāmī [lord] she has become a Yoginī, and smears ashes on her body.

Such is Gandhāra."

Coomaraswamy pp. 69-70; Pl. I. Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts

Similar in style to the Malwa set of 1640 (Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, etc.).

## 26

### GAURĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady picking flowers outside a temple beside a lotus pool.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7⅞ x 5¾ inches (19.5 x 14.6 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2374

Inscription:

"Entering the garden, the modest woman playfully gathers flowers,

For the coming of her Lord Mālkaś; a most devoted lady devoted to the hero."

Coomaraswamy p. 73; Pl. IV.

Gaurī is also known as Gauḍī or Gauḍikā and probably originated in Gauḍa, the western part of modern Bengal. According to the *Saṅgītamālā*, this Rāgiṇī is to be sung at the end of the day in autumn and the central note is *ṣaḍja*. A rhetorical interpretation adds that she is a married woman but her husband is away, and hence the dominant emotive flavour is *vipralabdha śṛṅgāra* or unrequited love. (Kanoomal, p. 94.)

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.











GAURĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady in a wood with two wands of flowers suggestive of her picking flowers (?). Peacocks and a pool. Inscribed.  
Rajasthan, Bundi, eighteenth century.  
10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 7<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (27.0 x 19.5 cm.)  
*John Ware Willard Fund. 59.705*

GAURĪ (or GAUḌĪ) RAGIṆĪ

Woman with a flower wand and a garland leaning against a tree in a landscape. Inscribed.  
Panjab Hills, Bilaspur (?), A.D. 1742.  
9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (23.2 x 15.0 cm.)  
*Ross Collection. 15.47*  
Writing on the back in Gurmukhī characters, *Gauḍī*; also a seal in Persian characters dated H.1155 (A.D. 1742); also the name Miruddin Gulamuddin.  
Coomaraswamy p. 100.

Compare the iconography with that of No. 27.  
Uncertain of their provenance, Coomaraswamy suggested that this and No. 74, from the same set, were painted in Delhi or Lucknow. Since his *Catalogue* did not illustrate either of the two paintings they have been unnoticed by scholars. Although I am not absolutely certain that they are from Bilaspur, it seems beyond doubt that they are Pahari paintings, and because they are firmly dated they assume special significance. The date H.1155 corresponds to A.D. 1742, and not to A.D. 1747 as suggested by Coomaraswamy. Miruddin Gulamuddin is probably the name of the first owner and patron of this set.  
From the same set as No. 74.

GUNAKARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady seated on a couch, refreshing herself. One maid fans her with a peacock feather fan and another offers her refreshments. Two musicians on the terrace and another couple of musicians in the foreground beside a lotus pool. Above, through a window a seated prince, perhaps the lover. Day scene. Inscribed.  
Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.  
14<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (37.8 x 25.0 cm.)  
*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.643*

According to the *Saṅgītamālā*, Gujārī is a Rāgiṇī of Meghamallāra. "She is fond of abundance of drapery and is seated on a couch, well arranged with sweet-smelling flowers, in an angry mood, and engaged in singing." (Kanoomal, pp. 98-99). A rhetorical interpretation is that the *nāyikā* (heroine) is a sensuous courtesan, whose unfaithful lover returns to her and arouses her jealousy. The prevailing sentiment of this Rāgiṇī is therefore *vipralabdha śṛṅgāra*, intense but unfulfilled love. The artist may have followed some such interpretation, for the lady in the painting could well represent a courtesan who is keeping her unfaithful lover waiting upstairs.  
From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 39, 43, 57, 78, 85.







## GUJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A girl with a *vīṇā* between two trees. Lemon yellow background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 8 inches (22.0 x 20.5 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3200

Inscription:

"Gujarī Rāgiṇī, wife of Dīpaka."

Coomaraswamy p. 98; Pl. XXXIII.

In Pahari painting the iconography of this Rāgiṇī is almost the same as that of the Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī of the Rajasthani schools (Nos. 72-73). As is evident from the third in the present group (No. 32), the Rajasthani tradition of representing the Gujarī Rāgiṇī is quite different. It is interesting to note that even within the Pahari tradition (the present miniature and the following one), two artists would choose to portray the Rāgiṇī in different ways, one delineating the solitary girl and the other adding the deer and a second woman.

From the same set as Nos. 1, 9.

## 31

## GUJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A woman seated in a landscape fondling two black deer, another woman playing the *vīṇā*. Predominantly blue-gray background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, early eighteenth century.

6 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (15.8 x 15.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3199

Inscription:

"Gujarī Rāgiṇī, wife of Dīpaka."

Coomaraswamy pp. 97-98; Pl. XXXIII.

From the same set as No. 21.

## 32 [Plate XV]

## GUJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady seated on an elaborate chair and playing her *vīṇā*; a dancing peacock. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Kotah, ca. A.D. 1740.

11 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (30.1 x 22.7 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 66.138

Once again we have a different representation of the Rāgiṇī. As in the Pahari paintings, she is playing a *vīṇā*, but the setting is indoors and instead of the deer, here we have a peacock. The iconography is therefore quite different from that of the Mewar painting (No. 29), but the Kotah artist has eminently succeeded in capturing the mood of loneliness and separation befitting the sentiment of *vipralabdha śṛṅgāra* (intense but unfulfilled love).

From the same set as No. 23.







## GUṆAKARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady seated on a terrace and picking flowers from a flowering creeper. A couch visible within the chamber of the palace. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (19.9 x 14.6 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2377

Inscription:

"Blooming like a flower herself, she gathers blossoms with her heart full of gladness, For the coming of her lord Mālkaṣ, she duly prepares the bed."

Coomaraswamy pp. 74-75; Pl. V.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

## 34 [Plate XVI]

## GUṆAKARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady seated on a terrace picking flowers. A couch visible within the chamber. A peacock and two ducks in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (18.1 x 12.1 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 67.802

Inscription:

"Jaiśārī Rāgiṇī of Hiṇḍola: to be sung at midday."

Although the inscription identifies this as Rāgiṇī Jaiśārī, the iconography is very similar to that of Guṇakarī of the Malwa School (No. 33). It is perhaps an example of the not uncommon situation in which a scribe identified the Rāga wrongly. An identical Bundi painting, somewhat earlier and upon which the present miniature was doubtless modeled, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (cf. W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah*, London, 1959, Fig. 11), where the inscriptions identify it as Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī. It seems possible, therefore, that the scribe of the present Bundi set made a mistake. However, the same iconography may be ascribable to two different Rāgiṇīs (see Nos. 50 and 57)—not impossible in two different literary traditions—in which case the inscription here would be correct.

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

## 35

## HIṆḌOLA RĀGA

Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā on a jeweled golden swing, with Gopīs watching, and peacocks.

Central India, Malwa, eighteenth century.

10 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7 inches (27.2 x 17.7 cm.)

Harriet Otis Cruft Fund. 17.72

Coomaraswamy p. 93; Pl. XXIV.

"Who has made this masterpiece of beauty, seated on the swing in a mood of passion, as it rocks to and fro? The ladies are swinging him, singing songs with gusto and without reserve. Their shining complexions enhanced by their yellow robes flash like lightening. All the young damsels indulge in the sport, carried away by hilarious mirth and passion" (Gangoly, p. 135). A Rāga of spring, Hiṇḍola is to be sung in the morning.

From the same set as Nos. 36, 44, 81.



ही जले की रागे नी जत श्री पहे र ही न चो गवै





## KAKUBHA RĀGIṆĪ

Lady with a garland in each hand confronted by peacocks, beside a lotus pool; a hilly landscape. To her left two musicians; two pilgrims near the shrine on the hill above. Central India, Malwa, eighteenth century.

11¼ x 7¼ inches (28.3 x 18.3 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2912

Coomaraswamy p. 93; Pl. XXVI.

From the same set as Nos. 35, 44, 81.

## 37

## KAKUBHA RĀGIṆĪ

Lady looking despondent and holding a garland in each hand. Mountainous landscape and a pool with birds and a prancing jackal in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Bundi (?), eighteenth century.

8 x 5½ inches (20.4 x 14.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2910

Inscription:

"Kakubha is a handsome young woman, suffering lovesickness, leaving her fine palace she enters the forest, . . .

Again and again she arouses the peacock's scream, forgetting soul and body in a trance upon her lord."

Coomaraswamy p. 94; Pl. XXVIII.

The peacock, an almost essential element in the iconography of Kakubha Rāgiṇī, is missing in this miniature. Stylistically, as Coomaraswamy suggested, the mountains seem to show Persian influence; more likely, however, the influence is Mughal as is that in the ornate border.

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## 38

## KAKUBHA RĀGIṆĪ

A lady in a landscape with two peacocks. Inscribed. Drawing.

Patna, nineteenth century.

5⅞ x 3½ inches (13.2 x 09.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2664

Coomaraswamy p. 100.

## 39 [Plate XVII]

## KALYĀṆA RĀGIṆĪ

King with attendants in a palace chamber watching a performance by musicians and dancers; ladies in an upper story balcony. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

15 x 9¾ inches (38.0 x 24.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.642

A Rāgiṇī which was not frequently represented, judging from the extremely few illustrations known as well as from its rare inclusion in the textual tradition. According to the *Saṅgītasāra* it is a Rāgiṇī of Śrī Rāga.

From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 29, 43, 57, 78, 85.







## KĀNAḌĀ RĀGIṆĪ

A prince with a sword held across the left shoulder confronting two saluting aides.  
Elephants in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Nagaur (?), ca. A.D. 1680.

9 x 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (22.8 x 18.7 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 66.109

According to the *Śaṅgītamālā*, Kānaḍā is a female holding a shining sword in her right hand and an elephant's tusk in the left (Kanoomal, p. 97). Indeed, she has to be a female to qualify as a Rāgiṇī. Yet usually, and inexplicably, the picture, as here, shows a militant male, emerging from a palace with elephants in the foreground. In musical terms it is a very sonorous and sombre Rāgiṇī and is to be sung in the summer in the first watch of the night. Gangoly considers it to have been originally a hunting melody, probably associated with the elephant hunt, and sung in praise of the successful hunter, the wail of the dying animals mingling with the strains of the melody. Ultimately, it came to be associated with Kṛṣṇa, being identified with the incident of his killing Gajāśura, the elephant demon (Gangoly, p. 152). The word Kānaḍā is derived from Karṇāṭaka (the ancient name of the present Mysore region in South India), and the Rāgiṇī was probably common in that area. In the course of time, however, the word may have become associated with Kannor or Kandoṭa, meaning a blue lotus. Since Kṛṣṇa's complexion is considered to be that of the blue lotus, and since the word also resembles Kānar or Kānorā (both meaning Kṛṣṇa), it is easy to see how the Rāgiṇī came to be associated with the god.

From the same set as No. 88.

## 41

## KEDĀRĀ RĀGIṆĪ

An emaciated ascetic of a blue complexion seated on a tiger skin and confronted by a musician with a *vīṇā*. Night scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (19.7 x 14.7 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2385

Inscription:

"Ever hearkening to the calling of the deer, she sees that the moon is weary (i.e., dawn is at hand):

Love sickness is killing Kedārā; she looks to the dawn for comfort."

Coomaraswamy p. 78; Pl. IX.

As in many other cases, the inscription and the iconography of the painting do not correspond closely.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

## 42

## KHAMBĀVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady, outside a chamber within which is a couch, worshipping Brahmā. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (19.5 x 15.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2375

Inscription:



"Desiring a boon, the woman offers up a coconut with folded hands,  
She makes offerings to Brahmā, and gazes again and again on the image."  
Coomaraswamy pp. 73-74; Pl. IV.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

43 [Plate XIX]

KHAMBĀVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Marriage of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa who are seated under a canopy, Brahmā acting as priest. Below Gaṇeśa driving a chariot, Siva and Indra following with a retinue, forming the bridegroom's party. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

14½ x 11⅞ inches (37.0 x 28.2 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.646









The Rāgiṇī has in this miniature been associated with Vaiṣṇava mythology, a fact which has, of course, totally changed its iconography. After the arrival in Northern India of Caitanya, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal, many Rāgamālā miniatures manifested this new influence (see, for example, the Hiṇḍola and Kānaḍā Rāgiṇīs, Nos. 35 and 40).

From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 29, 39, 57, 78, 85.

44

#### KHAMBĀVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady worshiping Brahmā on the terrace of a palace. Two musicians in the foreground.

Central India, Malwa, eighteenth century.

11 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (28.3 x 18.3 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2911

Coomaraswamy p. 93; Pl. XXV.

From the same set as Nos. 35, 36, 81.

45

#### KHAMBAVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady on a terrace worshiping Brahmā. Pavilion behind.

Rajasthan, Jaipur (?), eighteenth century.

8 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches (22.0 x 16.5 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2909

Coomaraswamy p. 93; Pl. XXVII.

46

#### LALITĀ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady asleep on a couch within a palace chamber. A warrior with sword and shield approaching the bed. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (19.6 x 14.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2384

Inscription:

"A tiger hero, swaggering and truculent, seeming to be the slave of Love,  
Who can tell when he returns, roaring like an elephant?"

Coomaraswamy pp. 72-73; Pl. III.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

47 [Plate XX]

#### LALITĀ RĀGIṆĪ

Lover stealing away from the bed at the break of dawn, indicated in the background by bright reds, yellows and oranges.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (18.1 x 12.4 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 67.804

Inscription:

"Lalitā, Rāgiṇī of Bhairava, to be sung in the morning."



नरुकीरागनालिलतेप्रनातगवेज





There seem to be several versions of the iconography of this Rāgiṇī. According to Deo Kavi's *Rāg-Ratnākara*, "Lalitā is of a delicate frame of golden complexion, she wears ornaments and robes made of gold; coming out of her chamber in a spring morning, she waits, her mind full of the expectation of her lover . . . Lalitā is seeking union with her beloved . . . and coming out of her abode is looking out for him" (Gangoly, p. 124). Although this description is quite different from that on the back of the Malwa painting (No. 46), the central theme—that of an expectant lover—is the same. The present Bundi painting, however, appears to have followed an altogether different literary tradition, since the lover is about to leave.  
From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

48

LALITA RĀGA[PUTRA]

Man seated on a wooden seat under a tree and stroking the heads of two cranes.  
Ochre yellow background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, mid-eighteenth century.

8 x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (20.2 x 15.1 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2796

Coomaraswamy p. 202; Pl. XVII.

While Lalitā in the Rajasthani tradition is a Rāgiṇī of Bhairava, Lalita in the Pahari tradition is the son of Bhairava and hence the picture shows a male fondling two cranes (cf. Waldschmidt, Abb. 23).

49

LALITĀ RĀGIṆĪ

Girl on a bed, lover with two garlands standing by her side. A tracing on skin.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

5 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (14.2 x 09.5 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3041

Coomaraswamy p. 95; Pl. XXX.

50

MADHU-MĀDHAVĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A woman holding a cup and feeding a peacock in a palace garden, accompanied by maids. Monsoon clouds and lightning.

Rajasthan, Jaipur (?), eighteenth century.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (24.8 x 17.0 cm.)

Ross Collection. 15.53

Inscription:

"Madhu-mādhavī is a treasury of beauty among women, she wears a green robe over all her body,

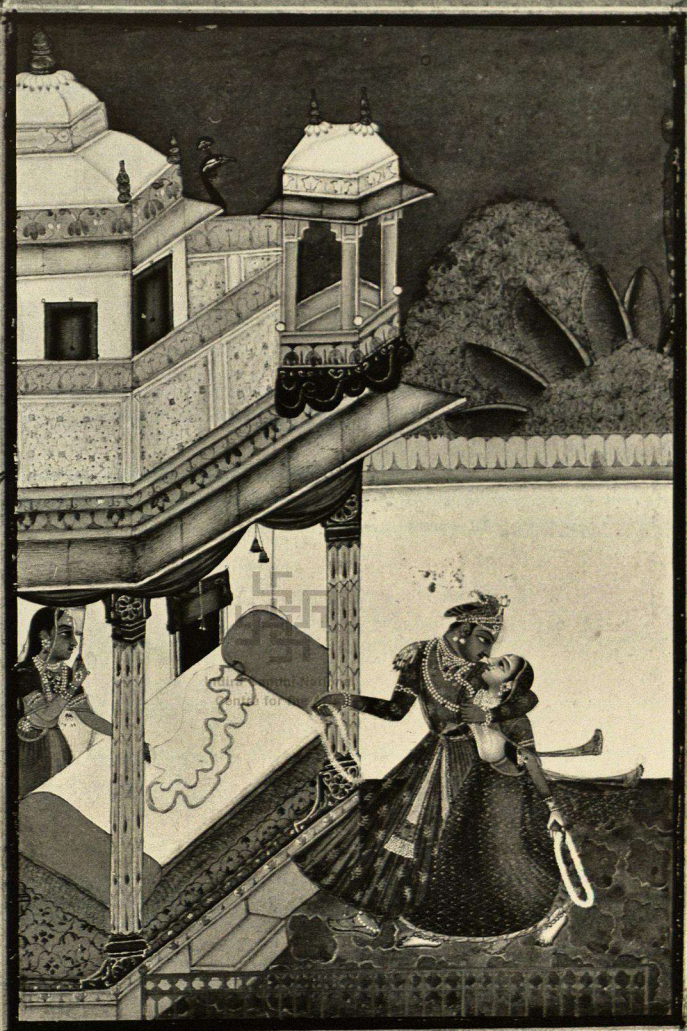
Many kinds of jewels adorn her limbs, whom to behold, a myriad sages pale and faint.

Coming from the palace, she stands in the garden; heavy black clouds are gathering joyfully,

The sweet, sweet rumbling of thunder is heard, flashes of lightning light up the sky,  
Birds are disporting with many notes; the princess, beholding, stands there delighted.



हीडोळको पुत्रमाले वोह धेडी नैरु हाते व गाव





Her body blossoms like a flower for the meeting with her darling, she stands entranced,

Dreaming of her lord's embrace, there is bliss in her heart."

Coomaraswamy pp. 91-92; Pl. XXII.

A description which corresponds even more closely to the iconography of this painting occurs in the *Rāga-kutuhala*: "Contemplation of Madhumāvatī: Holding a cup of honey, accompanied by her confidentes [sic], rosy like the java flower, wearing a pure bright yellow garment (welcoming the gathering clouds), caressing, by the other hand, peacocks (?) I always recall in my heart the proud Madhumāvatī Madhumādhavī" (Gangoly, p. 109).

From the same set as No. 86.

## 51 [Plate XXI]

### MĀLAVA RĀGA[PUTRA]

A man and a woman with arms around each other approaching a bed prepared by a maid within a palace chamber.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (18.1 x 12.1 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 67.800

Inscription:

"Mālava, son of Hīṇḍola, to be sung at the sixth hour of the day."

As the name implies, the Mālava Rāga[putra] probably had its origin in modern Malwa.

According to the *Rāga Sāgara*: "With his hands on the two breasts of a beautiful damsel, with his beautiful cheeks shining with ear-pendants, kissing fervently the face of the young damsel, I am (thus) contemplating in my heart—the melody of Mālava" (Gangoly, p. 108).

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

## 52

### MĀLAVĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady placing a garland around her lover's neck. A couch within the palace chamber. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (19.6 x 14.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2376

Inscription:

"Very great is the bliss of the union of him and her, such as has never been heard of: This union is full and perfect joy, God brought it about by design."

Coomaraswamy p. 74; Pl. V.

It is curious that although the iconography of both Mālava and Mālavī is similar, one is categorized as the wife of Rāga Mālkaūśa and the other as the son of Rāga Hīṇḍola. At any rate, the Rāga (or Rāgiṇī) must have originated in the Mālava country (modern Malwa).

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.



कामनीवदनसारसोलजाकष्योन्मयमधुनस्तनुपदेहेन  
 कृतपयोधनजुगमोदितरेनक्षयुयतरामः ॥ ५ ॥





## MĀLKAUŚA RĀGA

Prince accepting sweetmeat from a lady, as they sit within a palace. Three attendants, one with a fly-whisk of peacock's feathers, another with a *vīṇā*. Night scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (19.2 x 14.2 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2373

Inscription:

"The devoted wife went into the forest to bring her darling home;  
Every moment that passed was like an aeon, whose love was killing her."  
Coomaraswamy p. 73; Pl. III.

The name is a corrupt form of Mālava-Kauśika and the Rāga was probably current in Mālvadeśa (modern Malwa).

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 61, 72, 77, 79, 84.

## 54

## MĀLKAUŚA RĀGA

Prince and princess seated on a terrace and listening to two female musicians.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

9 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7 inches (25.0 x 18.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2914

Inscription:

"On a beautiful gem-set lion throne, lord and lady in a fair palace;  
Four lovely *sakhis* plying the fan: know this is Mālkos Rāga."  
Coomaraswamy p. 94; Pl. XXX.

The inscription also states that this is the "seventh Rāga Mālkos" (*sātvī rāga Mālkos*), which implies that the painter was following a literary tradition that admits of a classification of more than six basic Rāgas.

The above description conforms more literally to the iconography of both paintings. Evidently, there is more than one tradition describing the Rāga (cf. Gangoly, p. 134; Kanoomal, p. 93). It is to be sung in the winter in the fourth part of the night. The *Saṅgītamālā* associates it with the god Śiva, as the birthplace of this Rāga was traditionally said to be his throat.

## 55 [Plate XXII]

## MEGHA RĀGA

A man and a woman dancing in the rain. Two female musicians. Inscribed.

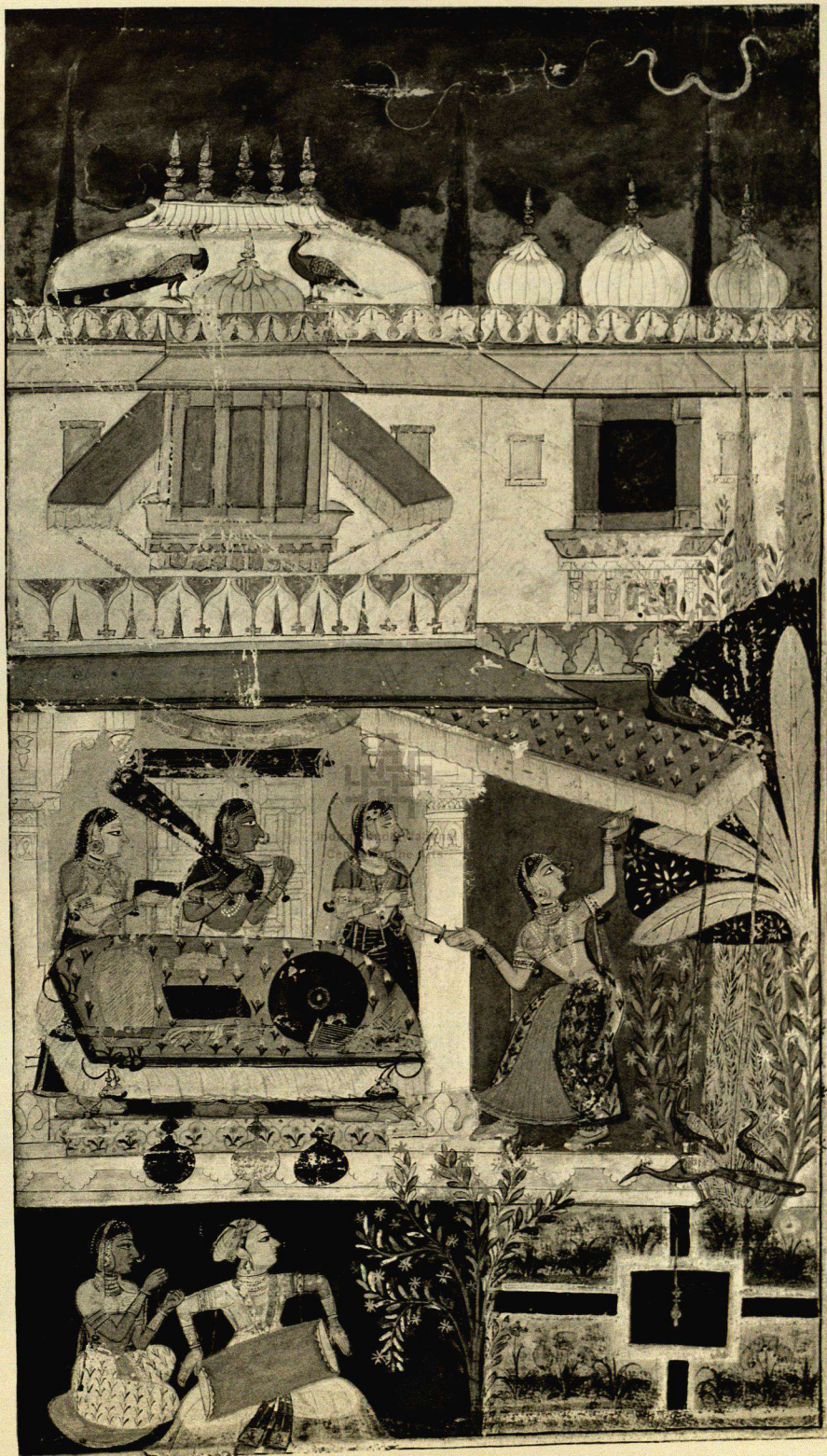
Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1670.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (19.6 x 14.6 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 66.108

"The melody Megh is the son of the heaven, or, born of the hills, according to another view. His complexion surpasses the shade of new clouds, he binds a turban round his matted locks, in beauty, he looks like the god—'who vanquishes Cupid' (*Viṣṇu*). He flashes a keen-edged sword in his hand, he is the jewel on the head of the youthful. His words are strung with the honey of nectar, starting with the note 'dhaivata' (A) . . . It is assigned to the months of rain, to be sung during the end of the night"







(Gāngoly, p. 149.) The artist has graphically captured the mood of the rainy season and the feeling of joyful union (*saṃyoga*).  
From the same set as No. 6.

56

MEGHA RĀGA

In the clouds a four-armed divinity accompanied by other gods; below, on earth, a man and a woman seated. Peacocks joyfully dancing in the rains. Drawing on paper. Inscribed.

Panjab Hills, Kangra, nineteenth century.

10¼ x 5¾ inches (24.2 x 14.7 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2556

Coomaraswamy pp. 99-100; Pl. CIII.

57 [Plate XXIII]

MEGHAMALLĀRA RĀGIṆĪ

A lady stepping out of the palace to feed a peacock perched on an awning covering the courtyard, three attendants watching from within. Dark sky with lightning, peacocks on the roof. Musicians in the foreground. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

14¾ x 9½ inches (37.3 x 24.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.645

Were it not for the inscription in Nāgarī on the back of the painting identifying it as the Rāgiṇī Meghamallāra, this might easily have been confused with Madhu-mādhavi (No. 50), as both seem to have the same iconography. It is of course possible that the inscription is wrong; however, Mallāra or Mallāri is one of the principal Rāgiṇīs of Megha, derived obviously from the monsoons or the rainy season, and it has had a peculiar fascination for the Indian mind from very early times. It seems unlikely, therefore, that it would be wrongly identified.

From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 29, 39, 43, 78, 85.

58 [Plate XXIV]

NAṬA RĀGA[PUTRA]

A prince on horseback fighting a warrior. Another warrior fallen in the foreground. A peacock in the background against a brilliant red and orange sky.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7½ x 4¾ inches (18.9 x 11.9 cm.)

Gift of John Goelet. 66.164

Inscription:

"Naṭa, son of Megha; to be sung in the third quarter of the day."

According to Meṣakaraṇa's *Rāgamālā* (Gangoly, p. 195) Naṭa is the son of Megha. In the Pahari tradition this is the iconography of Māru Rāga[putra] (cf. Waldschmidt, Abb. 67).

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.







## NAṬA RĀGIṆĪ

A battle scene in a hilly country. Inscribed.  
Central India, Malwa (?), eighteenth century.  
11 x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches (28.0 x 20.2 cm.)  
*Gift of John Goelet. 66.158*

The inscription states that this is Naṭa Rāgiṇī, although the iconography is a battle scene involving men. Naṭa is considered to be both a wife and a son of different Rāgas in different texts. For instance, the *Saṅgītamālā* describes it as a Rāgiṇī of the Dīpaka Rāga and states that she delights in acrobatics and "in the course of indulging in such a gambol, her hand is resting on the neck of a horse" (Kanoomal, p. 96). Other texts are even less close to the iconography of the present painting. It is difficult to know where the battle motif derives from, since the word Naṭa itself has to do with the dance. A Rāgiṇī of summer, it should be sung in the fourth quarter of the day. However, the iconography as well as the deep, resonant tones of this Rāga (or Rāgiṇī) reveal its martial association.

## 60 [Plate XXVI]

## PAÑCAMA RĀGIṆĪ

A man and a woman seated within a chamber in a palace, the man holding a *vīṇā* and attended by a maid. Outside on a terrace are two musicians, one with a lute.  
Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.  
7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (18.1 x 12.1 cm.)  
*Gift of John Goelet. 67.803*

Inscription:

"Pañcama, Rāgiṇī of Hīṇḍola."

It is rather unusual to consider Pañcama as a Rāgiṇī, for in almost all the texts, especially in the earlier ones, Pañcama is one of the basic Rāgas. Pañcama is the fifth of the seven notes and very likely the Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs with this note dominant were grouped under the general title "Pañcama." The Rāga is variously qualified as Gāndhāra-Pañcama, Bhinna-Pañcama, etc. For similar iconography see Stooke and Khandalavala, *The Laud Rāgamālā Miniatures*, Pl. XIII.

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

## 61

## PAṬAMAÑJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady, seated on a couch, conversing with her confidante. Night scene.  
Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.  
7 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (19.6 x 14.7 cm.)  
*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2372*

Inscription:

"Hearing thereof, Satī loses her wits in a whirlwind, her heart is saturated with resentment towards Bhairava, With grief is her body bent, she wastes away in the black fire (of jealousy)."

Coomaraswamy p. 72; Pl. II.



नटागनी: चोपई: विचित्रमरगरीसुहाई: करिनाटिकहेवरचोईसाई: विरहसम्रस्योङ्गपसारी: उभी  
 भुज: शंकरावारी: पोथसनेहकोवलहायमाहि: लागतेरबडगाहिराविजाही: दक्षिणसक्रमविरहना  
 जो: निपटकमरजुमकेकाजा: रिक्योङ्गनारथसमजना: दक्षिणैरोवोहोतसुपमाना: रोहा: कि  
 योनाटिकनटनागरी: ततपरजोकेकाज: त्रैरलोफविरहाहना: धालिविरहायहलाज: ॥३॥





ह्रीः लङ्का राग नीपंचमैः ङो ढ प हरु दे न यै ङ गे वै





The representation does not seem to agree closely with the inscription. According to the *Sanḡitamālā*, Paṭamañjaṛī has become emaciated due to the long separation from her lover (Kanoomal, p. 96). Perhaps in the miniature the confidante is trying to console the disconsolate heroine. A spring Rāgiṇī to be sung in the second quarter of the night with Pañcama as its dominant note.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 72, 77, 79, 84.

## 62 [Plate XXVII]

### PRASAL (OR PRASANNA) RĀGA[PUTRA]

A blue male (Kṛṣṇa?) wearing a yellow *dhoti* seated under an awning covering the courtyard of a thatched hut and reading a book as well as looking at a picture of a four-armed deity. In the foreground fountain and ducks.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (18.0 x 11.9 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.793*

Inscription:

"Prasal, son of Dīpak; to be sung in the second quarter."

Rather an unusual Rāga, it does not seem to be included in any of the known classifications.

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 68, 70, 71, 73, 87.

## 63

### RĀMAKALĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A woman holds a cup in each hand; snakes coil around two trees on either side. Green background.

Panjab Hills, Basohli, ca. A.D. 1700.

8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches (20.8 x 20.8 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2791*

Inscription:

"Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī, wife of Śrī Rāga."

Coomaraswamy p. 97; Pl. XXXII.

Also known as Rāmagirī (cf. Waldschmidt, p. 166), its iconography is similar to that of Ahīrī, if the woman here is feeding milk to the snakes, as Coomaraswamy suggested. Āsāvarī, Ahīrī and Rāmakalī (or Rāmagirī or Rāmakriyā) all seem to be associated with snakes, although Gangoly denies any association between Rāmakriyā and the snake-charmers.

From the same set as Nos. 14, 24.

## 64

### RĀMAKALĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Young man, accompanied by a female, prostrating themselves at the feet of an irate heroine. Inscribed. Drawing.

Rajasthan, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

6 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (15.5 x 11.8 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.3050*

Coomaraswamy p. 95.



श्रीपुत्रकोपुत्रप्रसन्नहोपहरपावजे









The iconography is the same as that of *Svadhinapatikā nāyaka* (the submissive hero) and demonstrates the close connection between the *Nayikābheda* themes and *Rāgamālās*. According to the *Saṅgītamālā* she is eager to meet her lover and the prevailing sentiment is that of *vipralabdha śṛṅgāra* (intense but unfulfilled love (Kanoomal, p. 95). It is also evident that the Rajasthani tradition is quite different from the Pahari (see above, No. 63).

**65 [Plate XXVIII]**

**SĀRAṅGA RĀGIṆĪ**

Prince with a *vīṇā* within the palace with an attendant. Outside on the terrace, two musicians. Inscribed.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1680.

9¾ x 7¾ inches (24.7 x 19.5 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 60.635*

**66 [Plate XXIX]**

**SĀRAṅGA RĀGIṆĪ**

A man seated under an awning on a terrace playing the *vīṇā*. A female behind, also with a *vīṇā*. Two other females in front. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Bundi area (Uniara?), eighteenth century.

10⅞ x 7⅞ inches (27.5 x 19.3 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 66.160*

**67 [Plate XXX]**

**SETAMALLĀRA RĀGIṆĪ**

Female talking with her pet parrot. Attendant with a fly-whisk. A cat in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Mewar, early eighteenth century.

9⅞ x 8⅞ inches (25.1 x 21.9 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.806*

Inscription:

"Setamallāra Rāgiṇī, fifth [wife] of Śrī Rāga."

From the same set as No. 80.

**68 [Plate XXXI]**

**SIYURI (SĀVERĪ?) RĀGIṆĪ**

A female wearing a crown of flowers (*kadamba*) of the same kind as are growing on the tree behind; she stands before a fountain with a maid.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

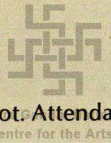
7⅞ x 4¾ inches (18.2 x 12.0 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.801*

Inscription:

"Siyuri, Rāgiṇī of *Hiṇḍola*; to be sung in the morning."

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 70, 71, 73, 87.

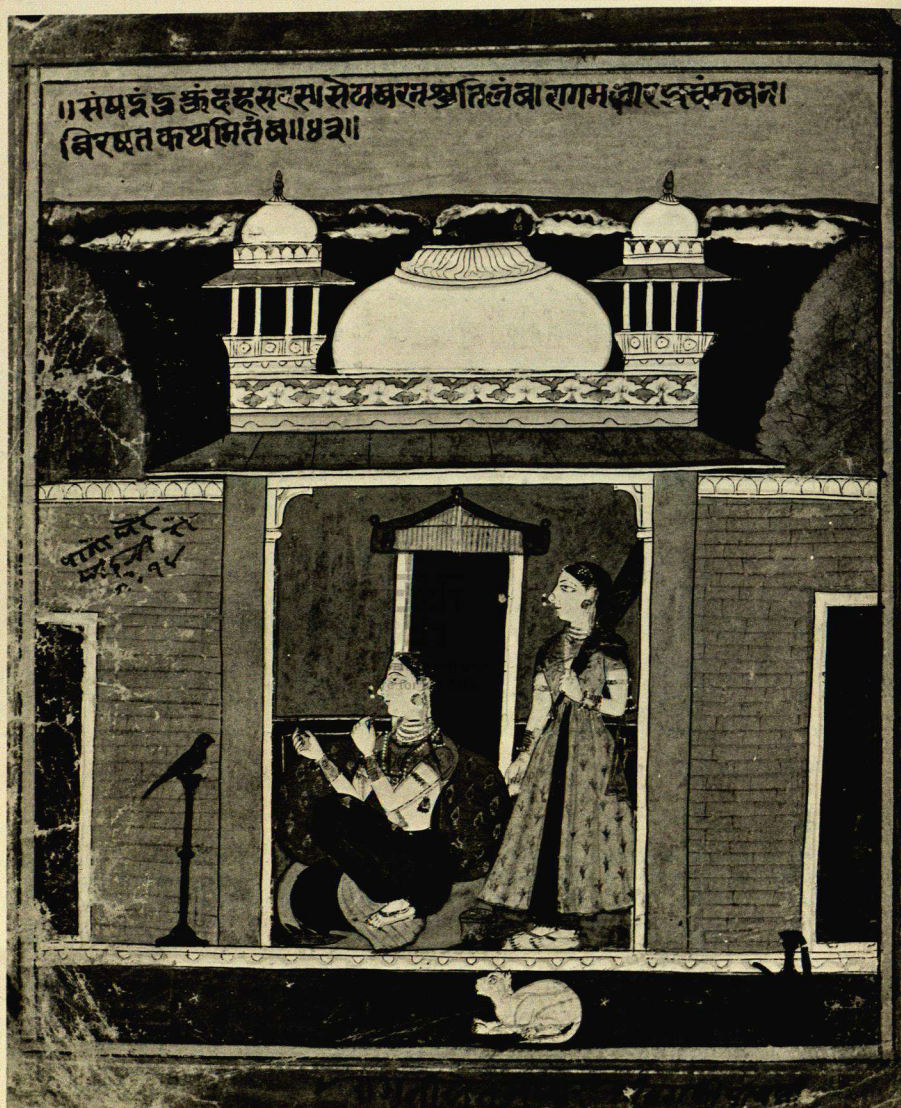




श्री मेघमलारवा रौद्र त्रः आरंभ ॥ ३ ॥ इति









हीडनेलफोमपनीसीयुरीप्रनातगावेडे





ŚRĪ RĀGA

A bearded yogi of dark blue complexion with a stringed instrument, another of fair complexion with cymbals seated before a prince in a palace. Night scene. Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1650.

8½ x 6½ inches (21.5 x 16.5 cm.)

*Helen and Alice Coburn Fund. 30.208*

Inscription:

"The sixth Rāga, Śrī."

SUGHARĀĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady seated on a terrace, two musicians performing.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7½ x 4⅝ inches (19.0 x 11.9 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.794*

Inscription:

"Sugharāi, Rāgiṇī of Mālkaśa."

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 71, 73, 87.

ŚYĀMA RĀGA[PUTRA]

A lady inside a chamber listening to music; a maid leaving. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7½ x 4⅝ inches (19.1 x 11.9 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.799*

"Śyāma: Her body shines with the beauty of clouds; she has snatched away the picture of the figure of Kṛṣṇa (Ghanaśyām). The glitter of her yellow robes is full of beauty; she has decked her brow with specks of saffron. The damsel dallies in sweet smiles which raise new desires in one's heart. Such is the great melody Śyām, carrying a wreath of jewels round her neck — captivating beauty, — as the incarnation of Cupid" (from *Rāga Kutuhala*, trans. Gangoly, p. 133).

Śyāma (dark blue-green) is the color and name of Kṛṣṇa. It is curious that although Śyāma is evoked as a female, the mode is here characterized as the son of a Rāga.

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 73, 87.

ṬOḌĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Woman with a viṇā standing in a grove of trees. Two deer. Day scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7⅝ x 5⅝ inches (19.2 x 14.2 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2378*

Inscription:

"Divided from her darling, most unhappy in love, like a nun renouncing the world,

This Ṭoḍī abides in the grove and charms the hearts of the does."

Coomaraswamy p. 75; Pl. VI.







माले को सब को रागे नील सुखे सखि न ता मदि न वै गगावे





गुडकीपुत्रीसमयं न्यवेलागेव





A melancholy Rāgiṇī, popular with both musicians and painters, Ṭoḍī is essentially pastoral in spirit, and usually the paintings reflect the loneliness of the heroine as well as the pastoral atmosphere with charming expressiveness.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 77, 79, 84.

**73 [Cover]**

**ṬOḌĪ RĀGIṆĪ**

Woman with a vīṇā beside a pool in the forest attracting deer.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7½ x 4¾ inches (18.2 x 12.1 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.797*

Inscription:

“Ṭoḍī, Rāgiṇī of Bhairu; to be sung in the day.”

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 87.

**74 [Plate XXXV]**

**ṬOḌĪ RĀGIṆĪ**

A woman seated and playing the vīṇā, another leaning against a tree and listening. Two deer attracted by the music. Inscribed.

Panjab Hills, Bilaspur(?), dated A.D. 1742.

9 x 6 inches (22.8 x 15.2 cm.)

*Ross Collection. 15.45*

Writing on the back in Gurmukhī characters, Ṭoḍī; also a seal in Persian characters dated H. 1155 (1747 A.D.); also the name Miruddin Gulamuddin.

Coomaraswamy p. 100.

For a discussion of the date and style see No. 28.

In the Pahari tradition the subject matter of this painting would normally be considered to be Gujarī Rāgiṇī (Nos. 30, 31; thus, the fact that the inscription on the back identifies it as Ṭoḍī is a positive indication that in this instance it was intended as such and that both traditions were known in the Panjab Hills.

From the same set as No. 28.

**75**

**ṬOḌĪ RĀGIṆĪ**

Female with a vīṇā and two deer.

Mughal, eighteenth century.

6½ x 3¼ inches (15.4 x 8.3 cm.)

*Goloubew Collection (Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund). 14.660*

Signed: Raqama-i-'Alī Riza-i-'Abbasi. As Coomaraswamy suggested this is an impossible attribution. However, it remains an unusual example of a Mughal copy after a Rajput painting. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mughal Painting*, Boston. 1930, p. 71; Pl. LXI.







## ṬODĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady seated with a *vīṇā* in a landscape; two deer are attracted.

Panjab Hills, Kangra, nineteenth century. Drawing.

10 x 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (25.6 x 18.8 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2559

Coomaraswamy p. 169.

As this is a Pahari drawing, it may well represent Gujarī Rāgiṇī (see above, No. 74).

## 77

## VAṄGĀLA RĀGIṆĪ

An ascetic seated between two trees reciting *mantras* and telling beads.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (19.2 x 14.6 cm.)

Ross-Commaraswamy Collection. 17.2383

Inscription:

"With a view to enthrall her husband, a great and noble lord, The Woman repeats the *Sāma mantra*, wearing the aspect of a sage" (Coomaraswamy, pp. 77-78; Pl. VIII). The name of the Rāgiṇī (Vaṅgāla or modern Bengal) reveals its geographical association and it probably originated there. According to the *Saṅgītamālā* the dominant note of this musical mode is *ṣaḍja*, and it is to be sung in autumn in the fourth quarter of the day (Kanoomal, p. 93).

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 79, 84.

## 78 [Plate XXXVI]

## VAṄGĀLĪ RĀGIṆĪ

An ascetic seated before a Śaiva shrine, with two attendants and a lame tiger.

Musicians and elephants sporting in the foreground. Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

14<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (37.8 x 25.0 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.640

According to the *Saṅgītamālā* Vaṅgālī is a Rāgiṇī of Bhairava. Inscriptions on both these paintings, however, declare it to be a Rāgiṇī of Megha or Meghamallāra. Yet, the iconography is not identical in the two, although the ascetic, representing the Rāgiṇī in the "aspect of a sage" is common to both.

From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 29, 39, 43, 57, 85.

## 79

## VARĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Love scene in a palace chamber. Lady with a fly-whisk. Night scene.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches (19.3 x 14.7 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2381

Inscription:

"Sweet is the speech of Barārī—her beauty like Kāmadeva's,  
Who has laid aside his arms, as the occasion demands—  
not lowering her eyes in shame."

Coomaraswamy p. 76; Pl. VII.

Varārī is also known as Varāṭī or Varāḍī.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 84.











VARĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady seated with hands clasped overhead; maid in attendance.

Rajasthan, Mewar, early eighteenth century.

10¼ x 8¾ inches (26.1 x 21.2 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.805*

Inscription:

“Rāgiṇī Varārī, fifth of Bhairava.”

As Coomaraswamy suggested, the position of the hands with fingers interlocked (*karkaṭa hasta*) and the arms stretched overhead expresses amorous desire (Coomaraswamy, p. 96).

From the same set as No. 67.

81

VARĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

Lady with hands clasped over her head, with attendants, on a palace terrace; field and trees beyond. Inscribed.

Central India, Malwa, eighteenth century.

11 x 7 inches (27.8 x 17.7 cm.)

*Harriet O. Cruft Fund. 17.68*

Coomaraswamy pp. 92-93; Pl. XXIII.

From the same set as Nos. 35, 36, 44.

82

VARĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

A lady seated with hands clasped overhead; maid in attendance.

Rajasthan, Deccan (?), eighteenth century.

7½ x 5¼ inches (19.3 x 13.3 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.69*

Inscription:

“Rāgiṇī Varārī, the hour of night when day is ended but twilight still lingers.”

Coomaraswamy p. 96; Pl. XXXI.

From the same set as No. 7.

83 [Plate XXXVIII]

VASANTA RĀGIṆĪ

A man dancing to the rhythm of a drum played by a woman. Lotus pool in the foreground. The trees in bloom indicate spring.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1650.

8¾ x 5¾ inches (21.2 x 13.4 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.644*

Vasanta, as the name implies, is a Rāgiṇī of spring and its prevailing mood is of joyful union (*saṁyoga*), with the advent of spring.











## VIBHĀSA RĀGIṆĪ

The lady seated on the bed. The lover shooting a flower arrow at a crowing cock perched on the leaves of a plantain tree.

Central India, Malwa, ca. A.D. 1640.

7 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (19.2 x 14.2 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2382

Inscription:

"The whole night passed away in love's delights and enjoyment of amorous dalliance. Alone on the bed, Bibhāsa sleeps."

Coomaraswamy p. 77; Pl. VIII.

The cock here is obviously the harbinger of dawn but the lover wishing not to be disturbed is chasing it away. As Coomaraswamy suggested this is a motif common in Indian erotic paintings.

From the same set as Nos. 5, 12, 17, 26, 33, 41, 42, 46, 52, 53, 61, 72, 77, 79.

## 85 [Plate XXXIX]

## VIBHĀSA RĀGIṆĪ

Prince and lady seated in a palace chamber, with attendants in the courtyard and walled garden beyond; saddled horses and musicians in the foreground. Inscribed. Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. A.D. 1680.

15 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches (38.5 x 24.4 cm.)

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 30.641

Although the motif of the shooting of the cock is missing, the saddled horse in the foreground suggests that the time is dawn and the lover must leave.

From the same set as Nos. 10, 18, 29, 39, 43, 57, 78.

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## 86

## VIBHĀSA RĀGIṆĪ

Lover aiming a flower arrow at the reclining female. A maid at the window fanning her. Two female musicians in the foreground.

Rajasthan, Jaipur (?), eighteenth century.

9 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (24.5 x 17.1 cm.)

Ross Collection. 15.51

Inscription:

"Megha malāra has entered on the path of love, and the clouds have assumed full measure of glory,

Love has taken bow and arrow in hands, and Desire is considering in her heart the battle of love,

She lays a loving hand on her breast, and turning her face, awakens her darling's love.

Both are hardy and valiant fighters, both are well matched and neither yields,

Both are alike in beauty of form, the tender girl and the lusty youth.

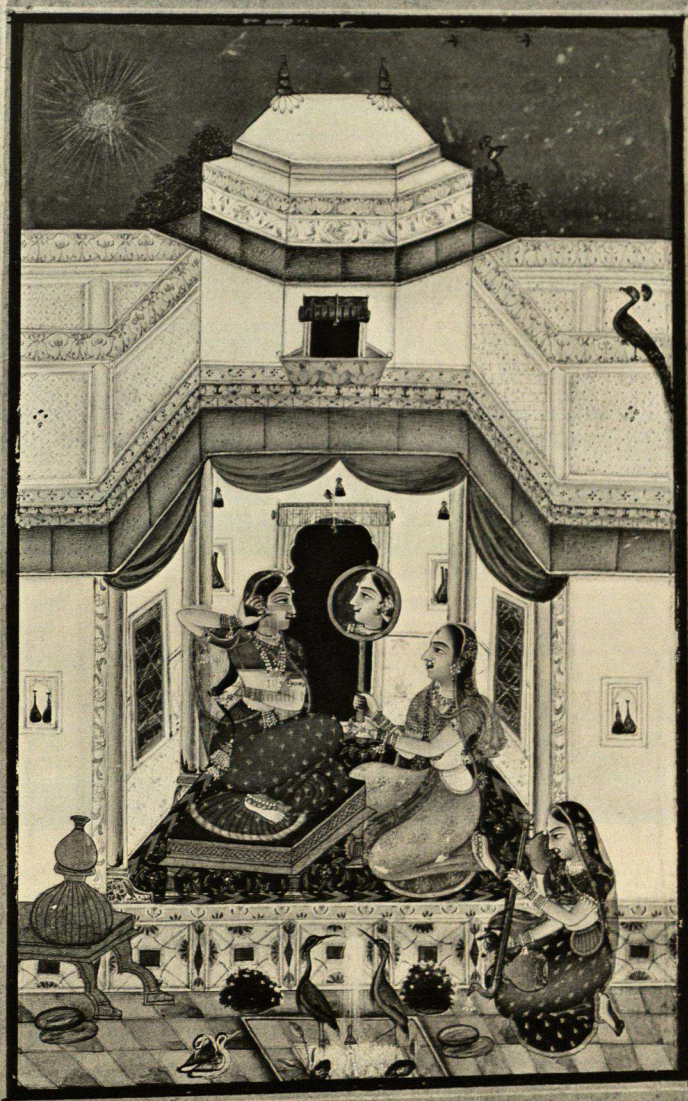
Hear the tale of love, the passionate pleasure of union,

Only if you look with the eyes of love will you see the true tincture of love!"

Coomaraswamy pp. 90-91; Pl. XXI.



नरुकीरागनीवीलाबुलेपहलाप्रहरगावत्रे





It is interesting that all three paintings of this Rāgiṇī (Nos. 84, 85) differ considerably in their iconography. In this case the lover himself plays Cupid's role.  
From the same set as No. 50.

**87** [Plate XL]

**VILĀVALA RĀGIṆĪ**

A lady looking into a mirror held by a maid, another with a vīṇā beside a fountain.  
Inscribed.

Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. A.D. 1725.

7½ x 4¾ inches (18.9 x 12.1 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 67.798*

"For the purpose of meeting her beloved in the trysting-place, she is putting on her jewels, (sitting) on the terrace; and she is repeatedly recalling and invoking her favourite deity—the god of love; her complexion is like the colour of blue lotus."  
(From the *Saṅgītasāra*, trans. Gangoly, p. 136).

From the same set as Nos. 11, 13, 34, 47, 51, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 71, 73.

**88** [Plate XLI]

**RĀGIṆĪ UNIDENTIFIED**

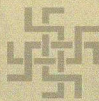
An emaciated priest sitting outside a temple. Morning scene.

Rajasthan, Nagaur (?), ca. A.D. 1680.

8¾ x 7½ inches (22.2 x 19.2 cm.)

*Gift of John Goelet. 66.125*

From the same set as No. 40.



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**89** [Plate XLII]

**RĀGIṆĪ UNIDENTIFIED**

Conversation between king and ascetic on the terrace of a palace. The ascetic with one attendant, the king with two; musician and groom with the king's horse in the foreground.

Rajasthan, eighteenth century.

8¼ x 6⅝ inches (21.0 x 16.9 cm.)

*Ross Collection. 15.67*

The iconography would lead to a possible identification as Śrī Rāga (see No. 69).

**90**

**RĀGIṆĪ UNIDENTIFIED**

Woman seated. Inscribed *Rāgiṇī*. Drawing.

Rajasthan, nineteenth century.

4¾ x 4⅞ inches (12.1 x 10.5 cm.)

*Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. 17.2665*

Coomaraswamy p. 100.



